

# **Strategies for Educators: A Six-Step Program**

---

Vernon G. Smith, Ed.D.  
*Indiana University Northwest*

---

## **ABSTRACT**

New teachers often have little or no preparation for engaging in the teaching-learning process with African American students. Moreover, they have probably had even less training in issues specific to African American males. This article focuses on ways to enhance learning experiences of African American males through self-esteem. We begin by defining and describing elements of self-esteem and analyzing selected literature as it relates to the education of African American males. We then suggest specific educational strategies for African American males, although they are also appropriate for others. These suggestions can help prepare pre-service teachers for a type of diversity seldom addressed in traditional teacher education programs.

In the quest for excellence in education, educators have explored many factors that contribute to the quality of educational achievement among African American male students. Some assert that achievement can be improved with more financial resources. Others identify staff development and new methodologies that will meet the needs. Still others believe that poverty, racism and sexism diminish achievement, along with personal abilities and what is traditionally seen as intelligence. While all of the above seem to influence educational achievement in a myriad of complex and

interrelated ways, we believe that to improve educational achievement for all students, especially African American male children, approaches must incorporate specific strategies to foster positive self-esteem. In this article, we seek to add to the discourse that currently surrounds the educational attainment of African American males by exploring self-esteem as an integral factor in success. We begin with a brief discussion of the concept of self-esteem. We then focus on the impact of self-esteem on student performance while stressing the critical need for addressing issues of self-esteem in working with children in inner city schools, especially African American male students. We end the article by presenting practical classroom strategies for the teacher. The strategies are designed to increase self-esteem, mold positive attitudes and build confidence through classroom experiences for African American males.

### SELF ESTEEM DEFINED

We use the framework presented by Kunjufu (2000) to discuss the notion of self-esteem: "Self-esteem is one of the most important possessions a person can have. We often hear people wishing they had a job, clothes, car, money, spouse or children, but seldom do you hear people talking about self-esteem and feeling good about themselves" (p. 17). Discussing self-esteem in terms of ownership is especially important in the context of African American children, males in particular. One of the legacies of slavery in America is the presence of a large population of individuals historically socialized not to be owners, but to be owned. Self-ownership in the context of education becomes important to developing the African American child. Bandura (1984) defined self-esteem as a construct through which a person demonstrates feelings concerning his or her self-respect, self-acceptance, personal worth, competence, strength, achievement, adequacy, identity, independence, prestige, status, recognition, dignity, and appreciation among others. Reasoner (1982) encompassed the various feelings into five characteristics of self-esteem (security, identity, belonging, purpose and personal competence). A sense of ownership is embedded in all characteristics.

Heath and McLaughlin's (1993) work in troubled neighborhoods in three major metropolitan areas of the United States revealed puzzling cases of successful children whose home and

community lives should have foretold disaster but who had somehow survived, who had not been destroyed by their environments. Subsequent work by Bean (1992b) extended the work of Heath and McLaughlin by exploring student resiliency through the concept of self-esteem. Self-esteem then is defined not only as the way people feel about themselves, but also as one's level of personal satisfaction and well being. These are three intricately linked components. Feeling good about oneself is to some degree being satisfied with oneself. Satisfaction is the result of the child having done enough of the things that fulfill their needs and wants.

As with all feelings and beliefs, self-esteem exists in the subconscious; it is an abstraction through which educators must synthesize meaning. Of most importance to educators is the notion that the things children do (behavior) or say (reflection of thinking) are expressions of self-esteem. Bean (1992 b) argued that self-esteem, though an unconscious construct, affects everything one does especially when emotions are involved. The relationship of self-esteem to these emotions is presented in his model of the conditions of self-esteem. There are four senses that contribute to building high, healthy, self-esteem (Table 1). Raising self-esteem involves helping children who have difficulty with one or more of these four feelings to experience them more often and more intensely.

**Self-Esteem, Behavior and Academic Achievement.** Studies support the notion that a student's self esteem is revealed through his or her behavior (Luster and McAdoo 1995, Myers 1998, Smith 1999; Washington and Lee 1982). While it is not clear which factor is most influential, it is clear that they have a strong positive correlation. Experience teaches us that self-esteem affects academic achievement, participation in class and other activities, and completion of school, among other student behaviors, and that academic achievement, participation in class and other activities, and completion of school affect self-esteem. Students who believe that they can achieve exhibit high self-esteem by trying and usually succeeding. In contrast, students with low self-esteem usually exhibit low achievement and students with low achievement usually exhibit low self-esteem. They think, "Why attempt if I am going to fail anyway?" As stated earlier, Bean also tied self-esteem to feeling satisfied, and suggested that people do things to make themselves

Table 1. Senses of Self Esteem

Sense	Connectiveness	Uniqueness	Power	Models
Definition	satisfaction from the people, places or things to which children feel connected.	Acknowledgement & respect for the qualities & characteristics about self that are special and different	the competence to do what they must resources required to effectively express competence opportunity to use competence to influence important life circumstances	human, philosophical, & operational models to help make sense of the world used to set personal goals, values, standards, & ideals
Children with a high sense feel:	they are a part of something related in important ways to specific people, places, or things identify with a group of people they belong to something or someone they are important to others	there is something special about them they know things or can do things that no one else knows / can do that other people think they are special are able to express themselves in their own unique way	they can do what they set out to do confident they can handle, one way or another, what is put before them to do, including things that might be risky or challenging they are in charge of their own lives, overall, despite having to depend on others some of the time comfortable when they have a responsibility to fulfill others can't make them do things they don't really want to do	they know people they feel are worthy of being emulated confident that they can tell right from wrong and good from bad consistent values and beliefs guiding and directing their actions in different situations. can depend on prior experiences to help them avoid being intimidated by new ones a sense of purpose and know, more or less, where they are headed

Adapted From "The Four Conditions of Self-esteem: A New Approach for Elementary & Middle Schools" (Beane 1992:29-35).

feel good when given the opportunity. Children who anticipate doing well on an important test are more likely to take time from fun activities such as playing or watching TV to study. They change their behavior because they anticipate that by studying they will do well on the test, thus experiencing a high degree of satisfaction with themselves — a feel-good experience (1992b:15-16).

Academic standardized tests contribute to the development of low self-concept/self-esteem. This is no surprise if one examines the development of academic standardized tests. The testing for academic admissions began in the 1920s, when the College Board hired psychologist Carl Campbell Brigham to develop standardized testing. Brigham considered the arrival of Blacks to the U.S. as the most sinister development in the history of this continent (Brigham 1923, Leman 1999). He further believed that the weakened state of the white race was a direct consequence of the abolition of slavery, that Blacks should be stopped from mixing freely with Caucasian people, and that intelligence testing would serve as one instrument for establishing and maintaining that barrier. Leman (1999) demonstrated that the use of standardized achievement tests has served as a barrier for many qualified ethnic minorities. Low achievement scores have a direct and negative impact on self-concept and since high academic achievement is valued by most, such scores would have a direct and negative impact on self-esteem.

In response, there has been a variety of research focused on enhancing achievement through building self-esteem. Many of these programs have involved urban youth, educationally disadvantaged youth and youth traditionally known as “*at risk*” (Sparks and Stinson 1991).

Poverty, discrimination and racism are other important variables that have an impact on the academic achievement of minorities and, thus, their self-esteem. This combination of poverty and discrimination compromises the development of study habits and the acquisition of knowledge, and serves as the reason for academic underachievement among minority students, according to Cervantes (1988). Racism has caused some to assert that minorities are socially and intellectually inferior to Euro-Americans (Herrnstein and Murray 1994). Thus, the poverty, discrimination and racism that minority students experience in the U.S. contribute significantly to academic



underachievement by affecting self-concept, spawning stress in their lives and limiting academic success.

Suggesting that black young people are in general at risk, Abasto and Abasto (1991) noted that this is due to a number of factors. They describe the black youth's dilemma as follows:

First of all, Black youth who are having problems lack a sense of connectedness to other people, the society and history. They do not see a place or purpose for themselves in the world that seems inviting, challenging and attainable. Their lives are unstable due to poverty. Their communities are often filled with drugs. The images they see are often either ones with which they don't want to identify or that influence them to behave self-destructively (p. 17).

Price (1992) stated that "Millions of Americans, a disproportionate number of them minorities, are going backward, losing hope, finding it increasingly difficult to share in the American dream (p. 212)." Jones and Watson (1990) pointed out that a number of causal variables interact to increase attrition and risk among particular demographic and socioeconomic populations:

Schools are an umbrella system or organization from which discrimination and differential treatment are often meted out. Subtle forms of discrimination can serve to undermine student's self-esteem and ultimately facilitate attrition. As a result of the social stratification in society, teachers and administrators may inherit a reality that creates an aversion to high-risk, low-income and minority students. This internalization is then reflected in their attitudes and behaviors toward those students. . . . Such negative behaviors can lead to low aspirations and low self-esteem. And low self-esteem can in time cause students to cooperate with systemic forces and participate in various forms of antisocial behavior (p. 2).

Abasto and Abasto (1991) pointed out that young black people also lack a sense of power as well as uniqueness. They feel invisible and powerless, rather than feeling that they can have some impact on the world.

**African American Males and Self-Esteem.** Currently African American males suffer inequalities in almost every sector of society, disproportionately facing social, economic and political challenges (Booker 2000). Inequalities are displayed in the extreme ranges of representation in society. In marginal sectors of society, such as prison, African American males are over represented, but they are under represented in mainstream sectors such as higher education and political office.

The mass media are the largest source of knowledge for society (Kunjufu 2000). The images presented by the popular media impede the day-to-day work being done to build high self-esteem. They deprive young males of the senses that are essential for healthy self-esteem, especially the sense of models. By presenting unrealistic and damaging images, popular media deliver crushing blows to young African American males daily. African American males are often presented as either thugs or heroes, both dangerous to the building of high healthy self-esteem. The thug is a younger man under educated, violent in behavior, addicted to a variety of social ills including alcohol, tobacco, and drugs. His days are filled existing in a perpetual haze of forgetting his current reality. The hero is a sports figure, wedded to his game. His days are lived in a spotlight, every movement scrutinized for mistakes, every interview carefully scanned for enunciation and diction. The lack of positive realistic social options creates empty identity pockets for young African American males. In the space of this emptiness the self-esteem of young African American males is negatively affected, ultimately resulting in a lack of self-knowledge, self-love and self-esteem. Myers, Bastien, and Miles (1992) wrote:

Self-knowledge being the basis of all knowledge, the unconditional positive regard for the natural order must begin within and be generated outwardly, manifesting at a critical point in terms of interpersonal relations among people. Self-love as the basis of all love starts within and moves outward in phases of the most similar to most dissimilar (p. 12).

The lack of positive role models and realistic life choices in the current social reality affect the self-concept and self-esteem of the child and ultimately the child's behavior. When children cannot find

a way to feel good, they will try to feel less bad (Bean 1992b). Studies show that the social self-esteem of African American males is much higher in relation to the academic self-esteem, suggesting that students may try to build the social self-esteem as a way to counter the lower academic self-esteem (White-Johnson 2001). However, work in this area also suggests that increased attention to the social can be detrimental if it contributes to neglecting the academic by pushing it further and further away and increasing the risk of failure.

In 1993, the Indiana Commission on the Social Status of Black Males conducted hearings in several cities with large African American populations. During the hearings school officials repeatedly reported the underachievement of African American male students and noted the high drop-out rate (Smith and Pernell 1994). The drop-out problem begins early in the educational process and the rate for minority students is substantially higher than for others. Among other symptoms of educational risks, Thornburg, Hoffman and Remeika (1991) pinpointed the high dropout rate for Blacks and other minority youth. Nearly twice as many Black and Hispanic students as Euro-American students drop out before completing high school (National Center for Education Statistics 1997). In a discussion on African American males and schooling, Kunjufu (1989) pointed out that the critical time in the educational experience of a young African American males is as early as age nine.

All too often, young African American males who do not drop out are educationally marginalized. African American males are most likely to be punished for behavior problems, most likely to be labeled as behavioral disordered or emotionally handicapped, sorted into special education courses and given out of school suspensions (Duncan 2000; Smith 2000; Weinstein 1991). In Milwaukee in 1998 African American males made up only 26 percent of the school population but 94 percent of the expelled population. The figures prompted a citywide initiative to address the negative educational experiences encountered by many of the African American males in the city (Span 2000). Unfortunately, the actions of Milwaukee are not the norm for the rest of the nation. Studies continue to address what seems like a mass exodus from academe by African American males. This may be interpreted as an action against schooling as an agent of social reproduction. Polite (2000) found that African



American males' resistance to schooling was often linked to the feelings of alienation by school staff:

Not all, but far too many teachers demonstrated little or no care for the African American males at MHS. A few teachers, particularly some in the school's business department, informed me that they experienced very different, positive relationships with the African American male students. However, increased social distancing between the teachers and students at MHS was an identifiable factor associated with the patterns of schooling avoidance and the poor overall educational outcomes for the school's African American males. The majority of these students reacted by ceasing to care about school or school personnel, becoming disruptive and putting forth very little energy in the area of academics. Their reactions contributed to making the school climate a chaotic one (p. 207).

Other studies point out that attitudes of school personnel contribute to further this alienation (Lee 1991). White-Johnson (2001) asserted that many minority students, feeling the effects of social isolation and segregation, believe they are out of place in school.

### TEACHING STRATEGIES

Price (1992) concluded that the issue is not whether to boost self-esteem, but how and towards what end. As we look at strategies that teachers can use to help improve the self-esteem of their students we must address the topic of teacher self-esteem. This is a must, since children's relationships with their teachers are intense, ongoing and have emotional consequences. In addressing strategies to enhance the self-esteem of students, Beane and Lipka warned that we must first identify which component part of the broader area, self-perception, needs attention and always be sensitive to the dangers of inferring self-esteem on the basis of values held by anyone other than the learner. They noted that when we simply tell a gang leader that he ought to feel good about himself, we may be reinforcing anti-social values. In other words, for some children we need to help them clarify their self-concept, while with others, we may need help to re-evaluate their value-base, as we work to improve self-esteem.

**Strategy 1: Develop Personal Esteem.** “Sometimes it is difficult for us to really get to know ourselves. Why? Because the process of mentally looking closely at yourself — called introspection — requires some quiet concentration and a lot of honesty. Yet, in order to determine what direction you want your life to take, you need to know your likes, dislikes, skills, strengths, weaknesses, and values” (Johnson 1992:3)

Teachers who do not feel good about themselves and are not satisfied are not prone to be helpful in developing high self-esteem in their students. Teachers who are comfortable with themselves and view what they are doing as worthwhile tend to be more accepting, warm, fair and non-judgmental with their students. They create an environment of acceptance, listen empathetically, build trust and promote warm relationships that lead to high student achievement. Do whatever you can to maintain or build your own self-esteem, such as forming a teacher support group, furthering your education through professional development, or developing a hobby.

**Strategy 2: Construct a Culturally Relevant and Nurturing Environment.** A teacher who is committed to enhancing student self-esteem should look at the climate of his/her classroom because it is in this space that the child has the most experiences while in school. The level of cooperation, the tone and the humanitarian spirit among other factors will affect the child’s self-esteem.

Bean (1992a) added that teaching methods, instructional styles, communication patterns and activity selections are influenced to a considerable degree by the teacher’s beliefs, values, personality, prior experience and feelings of comfort and satisfaction. Teachers’ awareness of their own styles and the effects of these styles will give them information about how they influence the climate in their classrooms. Wise teachers will assess their styles and develop strategies that combine classroom practices which make them comfortable with good, effective teaching methods. The bottom line, however, is that teachers must keep in mind that classroom climate is affected by their own conditions of self-esteem.

In thinking about classroom management as respectful discipline, the following techniques create an environment that maintains a high level of respect for students:

- Discipline the child in private; do not humiliate a child in front of the class

- Let the child know that he/she made a poor decision, not that he/she is a bad person.
- Whenever possible, let the consequences be known ahead of time.
- Make sure that the consequences are appropriate to the child's poor decision.
- Maintain consistency in discipline, so that the child knows what to expect.

**Strategy 3: Understand Cultural and Ethnic Heritage.** The cultural and ethnic heritage is extremely important in fostering self-esteem for young African American males. Due in large part to degrading popular representations of African American culture and heritage through the one-dimensional lens of various performers and hip hop culture, one would believe that African American culture and ethnic heritage can be condensed into superficial behavioral fads. Knowledge of the numerous perspectives and dimensions that encapsulate the African American culture and the Diaspora of the African ethnic experience over time is a self-esteem builder. The student is able to build an identity based on history, a variety of stories, experiences and knowledge that are unique and realistic to him. He can see himself connected to a people, not just the product of slavery. He understands that he has roots.

Specific to the African American cultural heritage is the purposeful inclusion of the perspectives of native-born African Americans in U.S. history, the contributions of African ethnic immigrants to African American culture, world geography, and history centered on the relationship between Africa and the various world African ethnic identities. Strategies may include structure based on various commonalities between African American and African cultures such as enhanced oral communication, building social skills, and learning how to build community. Children with low connectiveness benefit from relating to others. They develop a world view that links them to the African Diaspora. Self in this instance includes all of the ancestors, the yet unborn, all of nature and the entire community. . . ." (Kunjufu 2000:10).

**Strategy 4: Establish personal ties with students.** Effective teachers know their students; they establish and maintain personal

ties with their students. In a recent presentation on African American males and self-esteem, Smith (2000) discussed the concept of connectedness and its importance for action. People define themselves, think and act, according to the most important connections.

To get to know your students, have them write out on cards some biographical information that describes them but does not make it too obvious who they are. Include such things as hobbies, talents, major trips they have taken and so on. Collect the cards and read them while the class attempts to guess who is being described. Use them later to refresh your knowledge of personal attributes of the students, remember their birthdays, etc.

**Strategy 5: Enhance Values and Value-indicators.** Beane and Lipka (1986) suggested that we cannot speak of enhancing self-esteem without realizing that we must also enhance values or value-indicators. Values have to do with beliefs, aspirations and interests, and self-analysis of lifestyle. Value indicators are ways that teachers can observe the value construct. Research in this area advocates the following:

- Help clarify values or value indicators.
- Encourage the development of values.
- Promote the process of valuing through encouraging consideration of alternatives and consequences of choices, promote analysis of lifestyles to determine if values are being carried out, and offer opportunities to act on the basis of values held.
- Help individuals examine the sources of and influences on personal values or value-indicators.

Further, Bean (1992a) noted that teachers must realize what factors they can control. These include rules, standards and expectations. The degree of control over these factors may be influenced by the structure of the school and its relationship to the community.

**Strategy 6: Enrich and Broaden the Curriculum.** Include relevant activities as curriculum supplement. Relevance in curriculum rests on the assumption that there are specific types of learning processes particular to African American students. Willis (1992) provided an overview of the diversity in these processes, but asserts the

underlying assumption that African Americans are influenced by the African heritage and culture. Shade (1992) suggested that African American students lean towards processing information in ways that are more perceptual, that is based on visual transformation of information through cultural foundations. We do not advocate stereotyping students based on cultural characteristics as we know individual differences far outweigh cultural similarities; however, when planning curriculum activities for African American students, especially males, the cultural component becomes salient. Specific strategies include

- using community resources and extend the web of cooperation to the home and community as much as possible;
- including relevant activities as curriculum supplement;
- promoting parent/classroom interaction;
- allowing students to teach you and each other by building on existing strengths;
- incorporating peer-tutoring and cross-age tutoring;
- using praise to describe the accomplishment rather than the person; i.e., accomplishments should not be the measure of a student's worth;
- pairing of students who are competent in a given area with students who are having trouble with that area and letting them help each other. One who teaches also learns. This can be especially effective in reducing prejudice and building confidence for both parties.

### CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to increase understanding of self-esteem and how it affects academic achievement and general success of young people. Attention is placed on minority, low-income and high-risk children. The primary purpose, however, is to strongly recommend that professional development be designed, implemented and continued to help teachers develop expertise in working with



minority students, especially African American males. We believe the rate of achievement can be increased significantly if we focus positively on self-esteem and that doing this will lead to a more self-actualized society.

## REFERENCES

- Abasto, G. and Y. Abasto. 1991. *How to Equip the African American Family: Issues and Guidelines for Building Strong Families*. Chicago: Urban Ministries, Inc.
- Bandura, A. 1984. "Self-esteem." Pp. 369-370 in *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, vol. 3, edited by R.J. Corsini. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bean, R. 1992a. *Cooperation, Social Responsibility and Other Skills: Using the 4 Conditions of Self-Esteem in Elementary and Middle Schools*. Santa Cruz, CA: ETR Associates.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992b. *The Four Conditions of Self-Esteem: A New Approach for Elementary and Middle Schools*. Santa Cruz, CA: ETR Associates.
- Beane, J.A. and R.P. Lipka. (1986). *Self-Concept, Self-Esteem, and the Curriculum*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Booker, C. 2000. *The Social Status of Black Male America 2000*. Pressroom.com. Available at [wysiwyg://154http://www.pressroom.com/~afrimale/bmss2000.htm](http://www.pressroom.com/~afrimale/bmss2000.htm) [2002, February 2, 2000].
- Brigham, C.C. 1923. *A Study of American Intelligence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cervantes, O.F. 1988. *What Universities and Counseling Centers Can Do to Address the Problem of Low Admission, Attrition, and Retention of Minority Students*. Eric ED 304049.
- Heath, S.B. and M.W. McLaughlin. 1993. *Identity and Inner-City Youth*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Herrnstein, R. and C. Murray, C. 1994. *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*. New York: The Free Press.
- Johnson, A. C. 1992. *How to Do What's Best for You: A Workshop for Adolescents*. Paper presented at the Troubled Adolescent: The Nation's Concern and Its Response Conference, San Antonio, TX.
- Jones, D.J. and B.C. Watson. 1990. *High Risk Students and Higher Education: Future Trends*. (September).
- Kunjufu, J. 2000. *Developing Positive Self-Images and Discipline in Black Children*. Chicago: African American Images.

- Lee, C. C. 1991. "Empowering Young Black Males" *ERIC Digest*, 12-31.
- Leman, N. 1999. *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Luster, T. and H.P. McAdoo. 1995. "Factors Related to Self-Esteem Among African American Youths: A Secondary Analysis of the High/Scope Perry Preschool Data." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 5:451-67.
- Myers, H. F. T.R. Bastien, and R.E. Miles. 1992. "Life Stress, Health, and Blood Pressure in Black College Students." Pp. 370-391 in *African American Psychology: Theory, Research and Practice*, edited by A. K. H. Burlew, W. C. Banks, H. P. McAdoo, and D. A.Y. Azibo. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Myers, L. W. 1998. "The Effects of Urban Education on the Self-Esteem of African American Males." *Challenge: A Journal of Research on African American Men* 9: 57-66.
- National Center for Education Statistics 1996-1997. *Integrated Postsecondary Education System*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Education
- Price, H. B. 1992. "Multiculturalism: Myths and Realities." *Pi Delta Kappan*, 74:208-213.
- Reasoner, R. 1982. *Building Self-Esteem*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc.
- Smith, V.G. 1999. "A note on the Effects of Language on the Perception of Racial Groups by Majority Group Members." *Challenge: A Journal of Research on African American Men* 10:105-118.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and M.J. Pernell. 1994. *Setting Indiana's Agenda for the Black Male: Liberation Through Empowerment and Self-Sufficiency*. Annual report to the Legislature. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Commission the Social Status of Black Males.
- Sparks, W. G. and W.J. Stinson. 1991. "Promoting Self-Responsibility and Decision Making with At-Risk Students." Paper presented at the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance. San Francisco, CA.
- Thornburg, K. R., S. Hoffman, and C. Remeika. 1991. "Youth at Risk: Society at Risk." *The Elementary School Journal* 91:199-208.
- Townsend, B. L. 2000. "The Disproportionate Discipline of African American Learners: Reducing School Suspensions and Expulsions." *Exceptional Children* 66:381-91.
- Washington, V. and C.C. Lee. 1982. "Teaching and Counseling Black Males in Grades K to 8." *Journal of the National Association of Black Social Workers* 13:25-29.

White-Johnson, A. 2001. "Peas 'n Rice or Rice 'n Peas — Which One Are We Really Ordering? ThPlight of African American Male Students Engaged in Educational Exchange Processes." *Urban Education* 36:343-73.